UNITED NATIONS

SECURITY COUNCIL
OFFICIAL RECORDS

FORTIETH YEAR

2601st MEETING: 26 JULY 1985

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

	Page
Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2601)	1
Adoption of the agenda	1
The question of South Africa:	
Letter dated 24 July 1985 from the Permanent Representative of France to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/17351);	
Letter dated 25 July 1985 from the Permanent Representative of Mali to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/17356)	1

NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

Documents of the Security Council (symbol S/ . . .) are normally published in quarterly *Supplements* of the *Official Records of the Security Council.* The date of the document indicates the supplement in which it appears or in which information about it is given.

The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council.* The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

2601st MEETING

Held in New York on Friday, 26 July 1985, at 11 a.m.

President: Mr. Guennadi I. OUDOVENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Australia, Burkina Faso, China, Denmark, Egypt, France, India, Madagascar, Peru, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2601)

1. Adoption of the agenda

2. The question of South Africa:
   Letter dated 24 July 1985 from the Permanent Representative of France to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/17351);
   Letter dated 25 July 1985 from the Permanent Representative of Mali to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/17356)

The meeting was called to order at 12.35 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The question of South Africa:
Letter dated 24 July 1985 from the Permanent Representative of France to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/17351);
Letter dated 25 July 1985 from the Permanent Representative of Mali to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/17356).

1. The PRESIDENT: (*interpretation from Russian*): In accordance with the decisions taken at the 2600th meeting, I invite the representative of Mali to take a place at the Council table; I invite the representatives of Cuba, Kenya and South Africa to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Niaré (Mali) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Oramas Oliva (Cuba), Mr. Mudho (Kenya) and Mr. von Schirnding (South Africa) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of the Central African Republic, Ethiopia, the German Democratic Republic, Senegal, the Syrian Arab Republic and Zaire in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Gbezera-Bria (Central African Republic), Mr. Worku (Ethiopia), Mr. Hucke (German Democratic Republic), Mr. Ba (Senegal), Mr. El-Fattal (Syrian Arab Republic) and Mr. Bagbeni Adeito Nzengeya (Zaire) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

3. Mr. MOHAMMED (Trinidad and Tobago): It is a pleasure for me to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency for this month. I am fully convinced that your well-known experience and skill will bring success to the deliberations of the Council.

4. Last year the racist régime in South Africa introduced a new constitution which continued the disenfranchisement of the black majority, thereby perpetuating the heinous system of *apartheid*. Subsequently my delegation warned that that action would provide the impetus for an escalation of violence and the intensification of repression in South Africa, and that is precisely what is happening. Since then, more than 500 people have been killed, and violence has become endemic.

5. The racist régime has resorted to every instrument of the State apparatus as a tool for repression and State violence, and the declaration of a state of emergency on 20 July 1985 is but the latest manifestation to enable that minority régime to pursue unbridled repression. The system of *apartheid* is the root cause of violence in South Africa. By means of that pernicious system, the majority of the people of South Africa—over 80 per cent of the population—are terrorized, brutalized, "marginalized", tortured and murdered with increasing ferocity and savagery.

6. In order to ensure the preservation of *apartheid* within its own borders, the racist régime of South Africa pursues a concomitant policy of regional aggression and destabilization of the Governments of neighbouring countries, and it has continued its illegal occupation of Namibia, where it

has instituted its abhorrent system of *apartheid*. We must therefore conclude that the system of *apartheid* pursued by South Africa, together with its conjunctive actions, creates a situation which threatens international peace and security.

7. We have gone through a gamut of resolutions and decisions in the Security Council and in the General Assembly. It was only four weeks ago that the Council deliberated the question of southern Africa; first we dealt with the illegal occupation of Namibia, and then we followed that with consideration of the naked aggression perpetrated against Angola and Botswana. In each case, a stern warning was given to the South African régime that the continuation of its policy of *apartheid* would result in more stringent action being taken against it by the international community. We have issued warnings, condemnations, affirmations and reaffirmations, but all of them have been to no avail. To the contrary, we have been treated with utter contempt and disdain by the régime in South Africa, and we are witnessing an escalation of unmitigated and callous violence by it.

8. For how long must the international community allow the racist régime in South Africa to continue its institutional repression and violence? For how long must we allow one country to flout the decisions of the United Nations? This state of affairs has been allowed to continue for far too long. The Council must now act decisively to ease the suffering of some 22 million South Africans living under the heel of South African racism and oppression.

9. It is the view of my delegation that the régime in South Africa would not have been able to show such brazen defiance of the international community without the open and tacit support of some countries. We feel that the international community has been tolerant of the situation in South Africa for far too long. We have given more than adequate time for the sceptics to discover through bitter experience that policies of constructive dialogue have not worked and will not work. In fact, those policies have not only produced contemptuous intransigence by South Africa, but have given the racist régime moral support for its policy and practice of violence.

10. I reiterate that the repressive system of *apartheid*, the non-compliance by South Africa with United Nations resolutions and decisions and the acts of aggression committed by the racist régime constitute a threat to international peace and security. Appeals, warnings, condemnations and policies of constructive dialogue have all failed. We must take more effective action, and the time for that action is now. The procedure and mechanism formulated by the drafters of the Charter of the United Nations for ensuring the maintenance of peace and security must be invoked against the recalcitrant minority régime. We call on the Council to adopt immediately effective measures against the racist régime of South Africa, as provided for under the Charter, including the imposition of sanctions under Chapter VII.

11. Mr. RAKOTONDRAMBOA (Madagascar) (*interpretation from French*): I wish first of all, on behalf of my delegation, Sir, to express my sincere congratulations to you on your assumption of the presidency for the month of July. We are sure that under your wise guidance, and thanks to your diplomatic experience, the Council will be able to shoulder its responsibilities under the Charter of the United Nations.

12. I take this opportunity also to pay a deserved tribute to the Minister for Foreign Affairs and to the representative of Trinidad and Tobago for the way in which they led the work of the Council in June.

13. For the fourth time in seven months, the Council must consider the situation in South Africa. This reflects the seriousness of the situation and the need to take effective action to put an end to the chronic violence in that country. After studying the tragic events which have shaken South Africa in recent months, we wish to make the following observations.

14. First of all, the racist authorities of Pretoria, notwithstanding repeated condemnations by the international community, are not prepared to abandon the repulsive system of *apartheid* and will shrink from nothing to preserve the white minority's position of domination and privilege. Moreover, the majority of the South African population, notwithstanding the massacres and arrests, is more than ever determined to persist in their liberation struggle.

15. The Pretoria régime's proclamation on 20 July of this year of a state of emergency in 36 magisterial districts in South Africa was intended only to legalize the terror perpetrated by South Africa's forces of repression. Indeed, since the entry into force of the so-called Internal Security Act, the South African police have had at their disposal a host of repressive measures, including the ability to carry out arbitrary arrests, to engage in torture and to eliminate hostile witnesses. The fact is that the establishment of this state of emergency reflects the disarray of the South African régime in the face of the increasing turbulance and the growing fervour of the demonstrators.

16. The scope of the resistance of the oppressed people of South Africa, supported by the international condemnation of the *apartheid* system, worries the South African racist régime, which has become increasingly aggressive. It is high time that the Council shouldered its responsibilities and took concrete steps to compel the Pretoria authorities to dismantle the *apartheid* system and to renounce violence.

17. It is encouraging to note that some countries considered to be allies of the South African racist régime are beginning to put pressure on the supporters of *apartheid*, but the recommended measures are unilateral and voluntary, and are not enough to weaken that bastion of racism. Only concerted international action to impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa can bring about peaceful change in that country.

18. For its part, the Democratic Republic of Madagascar unreservedly condemns the blind repression carried out by

the South African police and armed forces against the black population, which asks only for recognition of its inalienable rights. We demand that the state of siege in South Africa be lifted immediately, and we call on the Council to declare that the *apartheid* régime poses a serious threat to international peace and security. That would enable the Council, under Chapter VII of the Charter, to consider the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa.

19. We wish to thank the sponsors of the draft resolution before the Council in document S/17354 for their initiative. We should have preferred a stronger text which would have sent an unequivocal message to South Africa. We hope that the consultations now under way will lead to a consensus text.

20. Finally, my delegation wishes to pay a tribute to the heroic resistance of the oppressed people of South Africa against the *apartheid* régime. We reaffirm the legitimacy of its struggle for the elimination of the system of *apartheid* so that a united, non-racial, democratic South Africa may become a reality, not merely a mirage.

21. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): The next speaker is the representative of Senegal. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

22. Mr. BA (Senegal) (*interpretation from French*): At the outset, Sir, I should like, on behalf of Mr. Abdou Diouf, President of the Republic of Senegal and current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. I am certain, Sir, that given your talents as a seasoned diplomat, the work of the Security Council will be crowned with success. I wish also to thank you and the members of the Council for permitting me to read out a declaration issued on 24 July at Dakar by President Diouf on the state of emergency declared in South Africa.

23. My whole-hearted congratulations go as well to the Minister for Foreign Affairs and the representative of Trinidad and Tobago on the very successful way in which they led the Council's debate last month.

24. My country is very pleased by the initiative of the French Government, first, to call for these emergency meetings of the Council and, secondly, to impose national sanctions against the racist régime of South Africa. We are pleased too by the efforts of the Group of African States, and we fully support the statement made by the representative of Mali.

25. Senegal has denounced and will continue to denounce all forms of oppression and discrimination which hinder individual liberty. This is why, as soon as the emergency measures decreed by South Africa were announced, President Abdou Diouf, as current Chairman of the OAU, made the following statement:

> "The segregationist South African Government, increasingly unable to cope with the resistance opposed by our black brothers to its policy of *apartheid*, has just decreed a state of emergency. Thus, the security forces, left to themselves, are acting in the most complete arbitrariness, oppressing, arresting and assassinating people who are simply claiming their most elementary rights as human beings. Africa unanimously summons the international community to bear witness and to assume its responsibilities. It demands in particular those who have experienced and so courageously fought nazism in the interests of mankind as a whole to recollect, to react, and above all, to adopt the necessary sanctions—in particular, economic sanctions—to ensure that *apartheid* meets the same fate as its sinister ancestor. I appeal to world public opinion and above all to the Governments of countries to which the Charter of the United Nations confers prime responsibility for the maintenance of peace throughout the world. The South African Government and its accomplices must realize that as long as *apartheid* is not totally eliminated, that country, and beyond that, our world will never know true peace. Africa, through me, reaffirms its active solidarity with our colleagues from the ANC [*African National Congress of South Africa*] and PAC [*Pan Africanist Congress of Azania*] in their just struggle and reiterates its determination to implement the measures that they have just drawn up in Addis Ababa in order to bring about the total elimination of this blot on our century, *apartheid*."

26. My country, Senegal, and its head of State would have liked to give a more detailed viewpoint on the odious situation which still continues to prevail in that part of our continent. However, in the light of the urgency of the situation and out of courtesy to the members of the Council, who, we hope, will unequivocally condemn these acts and will take appropriate measures, we have refrained from amplifying further on this matter.

The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.

كيفية الحصول على منشورات الأمم المتحدة

يمكن الحصول على منشورات الأمم المتحدة من المكتبات ودور التوزيع في جميع أنحاء العالم . استعلم عنها من المكتبة التي تتعامل معها أو اكتب إلى : الأمم المتحدة ، قسم البيع في نيويورك أو في جنيف .

如何购取联合国出版物

联合国出版物在全世界各地的书店和经售处均有发售。请向书店询问或写信到纽约或日内瓦的联合国销售组。

HOW TO OBTAIN UNITED NATIONS PUBLICATIONS

United Nations publications may be obtained from bookstores and distributors throughout the world. Consult your bookstore or write to: United Nations, Sales Section, New York or Geneva.

COMMENT SE PROCURER LES PUBLICATIONS DES NATIONS UNIES

Les publications des Nations Unies sont en vente dans les librairies et les agences dépositaires du monde entier. Informez-vous auprès de votre libraire ou adressez-vous à : Nations Unies, Section des ventes, New York ou Genève.

КАК ПОЛУЧИТЬ ИЗДАНИЯ ОРГАНИЗАЦИИ ОБЪЕДИНЕННЫХ НАЦИЙ

Издания Организации Объединенных Наций можно купить в книжных магазинах и агентствах во всех районах мира. Наводите справки об изданиях в вашем книжном магазине или пишите по адресу: Организация Объединенных Наций, Секция по продаже изданий, Нью-Йорк или Женева.

COMO CONSEGUIR PUBLICACIONES DE LAS NACIONES UNIDAS

Las publicaciones de las Naciones Unidas están en venta en librerías y casas distribuidoras en todas partes del mundo. Consulte a su librero o diríjase a: Naciones Unidas, Sección de Ventas, Nueva York o Ginebra.

Litho in United Nations, New York 00300 90-61439—January 1995—1,925